/51 cont./

[81] As soon as the menses appear, the head of the girl is closely shaved. She is placed naked but wrapped in a robe /manta/ in a supine position in a hammock which is slung up close to the ridgepole inside the house. Beneath the hammock a cloth is strung so that the girl cannot be seen from below.

In this position and as immobile as possible, she remains for five days (some say for only three), without eating and complying with a series of rules which later will have importance in her adult life. For this reason these rules must be observed by her to the letter, and she must be closely watched and counseled by a kinswoman, generally a maternal aunt, who does not leave her by day or night while she is suspended above, reminding her of what she should do and prohibiting her from doing what is tabooed so that she may not suffer the consequences in her future life.

[27] [28] Before being placed in the hammock, the woman who is in charge of her gives her a herb drink to make her vomit a great deal, with the aim that the girl will hurl out, along with the food she took when she was not yet adult, all her infantile psychological characteristics, such as her mischievous and disobedient nature, her imagination, her way of thinking and believing, her /52/ irresponsibility, her incapacity for work, and, moreover, all those characteristic bodily mannerisms of a girl. Beyond this, the mother a kinswoman, or female friend [83] who may have a potent love charm considered of great effectiveness, places it on her neck or, if it is for external application, rubs it on the genital organs, on the breasts, and all over the body as prescribed, because at this particular time it is effective and especially because it is the propitious moment to acquire powers of attracting the opposite sex, qualities she will have to have in adult life to obtain the married happiness for which she is now being prepared.

If these two prescriptions are not complied with or are carried out faultily, the girl, changed into an adult, will be lacking in judgment and common sense in her actions, which

/197 cont./

635 The punishments which the Guajiro establish to punish crimes against property are varied and very elastic in their application, since it depends on the standing and strength of those concerned.

We have seen how the first reaction when a thief is discovered is to kill him, in spite of the consequences it can bring. If they do not kill him at once, they follow a curious magic process aimed at the same end: to contrive the thief's death. "This is why when they recover a cow or an animal that had been stolen from them, or it reappears, they cut its hair and bury it up to its neck; the owners surround it and cry as if they were at a wake; they insult and curse the thief, reinforcing their actions with explosions of gunpowder, which they mix with ashes and the hair of the stolen animal. In this way they believe they will cause the death of the thief (1)."

1. Jahn, Alfred. Los Aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela, page 187.

Guajiro law stipulates as indemnity for the theft of an object or an animal, double or sometimes three times the value of the stolen item. Generally it is double, to pay for what was stolen and indemnification for damages. But the application of the law exceeds this at times, particularly when it is made effective on unprotected groups, in which case it has on occasion gone as high as ten times the value of what was stolen and even the elimination of the thief's family, leaving them in abject misery because they took away all their herds, as happens in Jacara. In this region, which is dryer than the rest of the peninsula and consequently lacking in agricultural resources, the whole economic life is centered around stock raising, which provides food and in olden times helped to provide clothing. If the thief is punished by taking away his livestock, he is by that act reduced to the margin of the social collectivity, since he finds himself obliged to emigrate as he has no other means of livelihood. When he emigrates he abandons his lands, which his enemies take. These

[23 cont.]
of the patient or of his family -- then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence breaks out among a Goajiro Indian's animals, he has no other known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman. As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[44 cont.]
him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

[45 cont.]
782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 683 826 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[46 cont.]
411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
935 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
975 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on
the imfra, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society
follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not
really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his
sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so
weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects
of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
989 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this
present study is based and which refers to the struggle between
a Guajiro Indian named Kurfra-pfta and some Kusina Indians
who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The
section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from
the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a
rifle) at Kurfra-pfta, who came upon them from behind. They
wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do any-
thing,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,'
said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee.
He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina
said, 'Let's kill him with the imfra (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
989 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously
stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us —
was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other
weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we
have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently
used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter
from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed
in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no
longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[1947 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
178] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kwina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy: he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

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[88 cont.]

subsistence and in general for every aspect of its life.

The relation spirit-sickness-death, which we have referred to in previous sections, is corroborated by this class of beings exposed to the harmful influence of the spirits almost in the same sense as that in which science regards sickness, i.e., the greater the weakness the greater the possibility of contamination from pathogenic germs. In short, [89] death occurs more frequently among old people and children than among adults. It is only that pathogenic germs, or the various causes of sickness among the Goajiro, are reduced, due to their mentality and in the majority of cases, to one cause only, wanuri, the spirit of sickness and death.

[illegible]

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[91] VI

Magic Charms
(Fetishes, Amulets, and Talismans)

As these three terms, fetish, amulet, and talisman generally lend themselves to confusion, we wish to clarify the meaning of each one before we proceed further with the subject.

Amulet "indicates an object that possesses the magic, passive quality of defending the wearer from malignant influences..." (56)

56. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

Fetish derives from the Portuguese feitico, corresponding to the Latin word facticius ("made by hand"), and at first was used to describe Christian amulets, but was used by navigators in the fifteenth century to describe the primitively carved wood and stone which were worshiped as bearers of magic forces by the Negroes of West Africa. The fetish "is an efficacious charm whose supposed action is guided by the wish of its owner." (57)

57. Bom. Op. cit., 2-3.

[91 cont.]

But in our opinion this definition would be incomplete if we did not add that fetishism implies a special cult, a veneration on the part of the owner. The fetish becomes almost the material representation of a personal and protecting divinity.

The talisman, in turn, "exercises an active magic influence, given that it can give fortune or success to whoever carries it." (58)

58. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

The difference between the last two, which apparently could be confused with each other, is the following: The fetish is a magic article which is at the disposal of its owner, who can use it to obtain his personal good or to do harm to others. On the other hand, a talisman is independent of the will of its owner. Its function simply consists in providing him with "fortune or success."

[92] This clarification having been made, we proceed with our study of magic in the life of the Guajiro Indians.

The general term contras ["charms"] in La Guajira and in the greater part of Colombia covers those magic objects which can be included in the three categories we have just noted. These are not peculiar to any determined racial group but belong to the people, this being understood in its widest meaning. These charms are equally appreciated by an Indian, a Negro, a mestizo, or a White, and for this reason they are found in almost all the social and spatial spheres of Colombia.

But what is the most interesting as a social phenomenon is the symbiosis that has occurred. What is Negro, what is Spanish, and what is Indian are so closely linked, so perfectly amalgamated, that it is now little short of impossible to determine the origin of the different influences in many of the aspects of magic and of popular sorcery, to elucidate what has an African, an Amerindian, or a peninsular origin. All these ethnographic elements which at a historic moment formed an integral and essential part of the cultural basis of the different communities have been converted, thanks to the racial and cultural intermixing, into the elements of folklore of these new peoples that have arisen as a result of such crossing.

[92 cont.]

177 789 The previous statement is borne out to such a point that even in native communities that are quite homogeneous, anthropologically speaking, as is La Guajira, it is difficult to learn which beliefs, which practices of magic or of sorcery, are autochthonous and which are acculturations due to contacts with the neighboring mestizos who, given the circumstances we have noted of being in the greater part mulattos, have a considerable collection of this type of beliefs and practices inherited largely from their Negro ancestors.

As it is totally impossible for us to make a list of the origin of all and each one of the autochthonous Guajiro beliefs, we shall have to confine ourselves to showing the similarities which they have in the whole of Colombian folklore. It is clear that this similarity will not always indicate acculturation, but only similarity due to the influence of other native groups that have disappeared but who once lived in Colombian territory, or exact beliefs which reached there from other continents and which can only be explained by the general evolutionary process of human mentality.

789 [426] Characteristics of charms. 1. Some charms can be lent by their owner to another person, if both the owner and [93] the borrower are of the same sex and if the charm is to be used by the borrower so that he may benefit by its virtues.

[262] 2. To make use of them, the individual during the period of action must submit himself to a special, very strict diet. The breaking of any one of the norms will cancel the effect and bring about serious prejudice to health, if not results contrary to what he had looked for and expected. The way to carry out this diet will be found described in the following section, "Application and Effects."

3. It is sufficient for a stranger to look at the magic object belonging to someone else for all its magic power to be transferred to him. For this reason it is an indispensable requisite to keep it safely from other people's sight and always to be wary of this type of violation.

438 789 673 4. It is very difficult to obtain a true charm because while those who sell these are old women very practiced in this art, many unscrupulous women often devote themselves to the trade

[93 cont.]
in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a complete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro, there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made especially for this purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

[102 cont.]
777 prayers and special acts of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic powers.

789 Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that [435 556] the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him in the adventure he is about to undertake. [262] He then replaces the charm and starts on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or bathe, for should he do so he will become mad.

[103 cont.]

789 This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

787 What is the quality it possesses that makes it so valuable?
789 The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

226 Charm for the sea. In Ríohacha one of the Indians who
751 assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[104 cont.]

226 751 [177 184] Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious.

*756 778 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 789 [325] [532] [173] The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

[106 cont.]

782 424 791 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 781 755 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurĭta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurĭta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [561] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

789 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

[107 cont.]
789 to others, to those they wish to hurt.

4) But as a general rule these charms are designed to protect their owners from evil actions on the part of others; they are independent of their owners' will, and they demand a certain care and a special diet for their effect to be positive.

5) Objects that have become converted into magic charms can be used in two ways: to cause harm to a particular person or to bring happiness in some aspect of the normal spiritual life of the owner. It all depends on the special treatment given to the charm.

6) The Indians are convinced of the effectiveness of every kind of charm. Their existence and their value are so assured among them that it is difficult to find even one Indian who does not possess at least one charm, no matter of what type it may be.

7) The classification that can be made of these magic charms in accordance with the three essential types which we have specified at the beginning of this chapter is the following:

Amulets. 1) Those given to girls unhappy in their love affairs by their mothers or their aunts; 2) charms for war; 3) jet; 4) the salta piedra ["jumping stone"]; 5) coral; 6) oxeye seeds; 7) coconut shell in the shape of a small hand; 8) horse skull; 9) charm to acquire riches; 10) charm to acquire respect, prestige, and affection; 11) piece of wood hung round the neck to save one from the sea.

Fetishes. 1) Love charms to attract a husband permanently, reconquer his love if it has been lost, or to win it; 2) love charm to win women's love without falling in love; 3) those made by men with the hair cut from girls at the time of their first menstruation, hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achiote; 4) that used by women and accompanied by the burning of a sandal to revenge themselves on men; 5) that also used by women to retain a man's love or to prevent him taking another woman. [108]

Talismans. 1) The charm used by women at the time of their initiation – first menstruation; 2) those also used by women to induce their husbands to give them a certain present; 3) necklaces made of small disks of coconut shell; 4) women's hair interred in cow dung; 5) charms to aid in hunting deer and rabbits; 6) the guará or guale.

[112 cont.]

787 825 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20 [797 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent 628] of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 132 133 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For ●789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 *756 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[113 cont.]

789 *756 the propitiation of the rain, which is the culmination of the rituals of the Guajiro Indians.

When summer continues overlong and endangers the crops, animals, and the community in general, the shaman gets ready to call for and to attract rain. To effect this he dresses in the way we have seen him do when he cures sickness or casts out epidemics and begins to invoke up his protector spirits that they may aid him in his trance. He chews tobacco and rhythmically sways his torso and head while shaking his maraca. All these acts he carries out while seated on a wooden zoomorphic chair. He then commences to sing loudly to attract his spirits, and when he attains this he asks them to send rain. He tells them that men need it, that they are without food and without water in their wells, and they are near death through hunger and thirst, their animals are dying, and misery and desolation is overrunning their country. At certain moments the shaman goes out from the house where he is carrying out his ceremony and walks around it so as to attract the rain and scare away the evil spirits that are keeping it back. As a result of these ceremonies rain should fall.

789 178 But this is not the only method that the natives have at their disposal to attract rain. The propitiation can be effected in a different way without the intervention of the shaman. This is happening now in all the acts of magic in this society, which we may describe as being in a state of disintegration in which the prestige of the shaman has lost importance, and ordinary people have taken over his science. We shall see below a series of methods the natives employ to attract rain without the shaman's intervention.

789 821 825 For example, a kind of adoration is very common which the Indians pay to a certain iguana that is found in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the seacoast, an adoration that is shown in a series of fiestas and dances, the purpose of which is to obtain the favor of these reptiles, so that they may place no [114] obstacle in the way of the hoped-for rainfall but let it occur freely. We shall study this association iguana-rainfall more fully in the last chapter.

789 821 Other methods used by the Indians to attract rain during summer are: beating their drums for many hours on consecutive

[114 cont.]

789 821 nights and repeating this at sunrise; or shooting their arrows — or a more modern procedure, their shotguns — toward the clouds to make them discharge their moisture. In the first case, it seems as if the drums endeavor to reproduce the sound of thunder during the storms that are usually associated with rain. The native believes that by creating one of the concomitant factors he will bring about the whole desired condition, that is, the production of the whole phenomenon; for him, thunder and rain are two equal and inseparable things, so by obtaining one he will automatically attain the other.

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241 462 Men and women participate equally in sowing crops with a division of labor which corresponds to the combined magico-biological whole. The men have charge of preparing the soil and making the holes for the seed; the women do the planting and the covering up of the seed. They say that if the grain is planted by the woman, it will have a better chance of growing and developing, and the harvest will be more abundant. The woman is considered as a symbol of fecundity through accomplishing the gestation of the child, and that force she transmits to the seed at the moment she plants it.

• • •

789 821 During eclipses of the sun or moon the natives cry disconsolately because they fear that these heavenly bodies will not continue fulfilling their functions; in crying they implore them not to abandon them nor leave the world plunged in darkness. To oblige them to return to normal, the Indians shoot their rifles at them, and in the more remote areas of La Guajira they organize a great noisy shouting, crying and shooting their arrows at the sky, so that the new day will triumph.

• • •

When there is a great deal of lightning during the stormy season, the old Guajiro who still retain a great fear of this natural

[114 cont.]
789 phenomenon – organize, as in the case of the eclipses, noisy
821 groups who shout aloud, [115] begging the lightning to withdraw, to go to the sea and make the storms that frequently lash the coasts of Cabo de la Vela and Chichibacoa.

• • •

When the Guajiro is on the sea and, as frequently happens, his vessel becomes becalmed, he calls on the breeze to return by means of a long-drawn-out whistle, trying every pitch until he gets it to return.

• • •

821 Finally, if at dusk a considerably large, vividly red cloud
787 appears, the native believes that it announces that there will shortly be a war between two clan organizations.

787 Magic and dreams. The Guajiro Indian looks upon his
813 dreams as revelations of the future. His mentality does not conceive them as products of the past or as being associated with certain psycho-physiological phenomena, but as previews of his life, as a way of seeing future happenings, as revelations made by the spirits of strange things that will happen to the person dreaming or to those that appear in the dream. These dreams are not, therefore, private personal phenomena but social events, as what they contain affects the entire community or parts of it and determines many of their individual or collective acts, since the Guajiro is always strongly linked to this phenomenon as he is to all other magic; and in this respect he is a determinist. His life, his social and economic activities, his relations with his geographic surroundings, his illnesses, birth and death are determined by this play of magic interactions. It does not
813 matter that the phenomena are not always repeated in the same way or that on many occasions the events expected to occur as the consequence of a certain concatenation of magic causes do not take place or do so in a different or even contrary manner to that expected; the native does not waver in his belief in that invisible but active force. He continues to be attached to it, as

[119 cont.]

787 interpretations, will suffice to show that the life of these Indians is built around natural and supernatural phenomena impregnated with a magic factor, and that it is difficult to separate them.

789 826 Other magical acts. The belief exists among these natives that to eat another person's leavings of food implies the acquiring of his qualities. Thus, if one eats the leavings of someone having white hair, one's own hair will become white. Women are therefore very addicted to eating food left by white women when they visit them because they want to obtain a paler complexion. It is also quite common among the men to eat food left by those who are distinguished for their bravery because by this they may acquire some of their courage. This belief extends to everything that may have contact with the person's mouth or breath. Cigar and cigarette butts have this same virtue. They also believe that if an Indian smokes a cigarette butt that has been thrown away by a foreigner, he will acquire one of the qualities of that foreigner — his beard.

778 789 This gives us a clue to the existence of what some authors have called mana. It is nothing more than a memory which shows itself in the magic phenomena we have been describing. The idea is not clear but it may be presumed to have existed in former times. Mana is a force that transmits qualities; it is both energy and vitality, which in spite of being intangible impregnates everything it touches. It can be absorbed or acquired in different ways, and from this we derive the explanation which has been given for cannibalism in some primitive tribes. Its concomitant effect is that it has led the Guajiro to keep one of the aspects of this idea: that food, and in general all objects that have been in intimate contact with a person who has certain characteristics, superior in the eyes of the native since he wants them and would feel more complete with them, bring him that force, that singular essence, through magnetization — permit us the term for its graphicness — which it has acquired by touching the possessor of such qualities. [120]

The object, or the food, has robbed, so to speak, a little mana from the individual who was in intimate contact with it.

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[142 cont.]

although he sees everything.... Mareigua combines three main spirits and many subaltern ones inferior to Him. [143] Some of these spirits are masculine, some feminine.... An Indian sees that his crop is drying up for lack of water, and far from imploring Heaven for rain, he beats his drum every night and at dawn as if he expected the sound to break up the clouds, or he fires his gun with a similar hope.... Should one of his relatives become ill, he calls in the shaman so that he can with his remedies, his maraca, his tobacco or manilla spittle, and the instructions of his spirits, cure the sick man; instead of appealing to God and asking him to bring his relative back to health." (72)

72. Ibid., II, 65-67.

Jorge Isaacs, the famous Colombian novelist, in the second half of the past century, made an excursion under government authority to study La Guajira and other regions of the country, and he wrote in the report he presented: "Mareigua is the name by which the Guajiro designate God, or better said, the unbegotten one, immaterial force, master of creation." (73)

73. Isaacs. Estudio del Lenguaje Guajiro [Study of the Guajiro Language], 303.

Finally, the ethnologist Professor Hernández de Alba, as a result of his expedition to the peninsula says: "Mareigua. All that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance, life, protection, the world in which he lives, all come from Mareigua, the one and only God, always good, never evil...." (74)

74. Hernández de Alba. Etnología Guajira [Guajiro Ethnology], 49-50.

The quotations which we have cited lead us to the belief by the Guajiro in an all-powerful god, unique and universal. This

[145 cont.]

776 773 2. According to data collected in the field among the people, the son of God (Mareiwa) exists. He was born from the union of the waves and the clouds in a place called Pulówi, in certain "sacred" lakes where human beings may not go, situated in the Sierra Nevada, where there are a number of both fresh- and salt-water lakes surrounded by medicinal plants. Mareiwa on occasion descends to these places, and it is at these times [82] that heavy rainfall occurs in La Guajira, that is, during the seasons which in the peninsula are called autumn, spring, and winter. Then all the vegetation sprouts, and all the trees, pasture, and plants are green.

3. Another legend states that Mareiwa was born of a woman who became pregnant when, being in her monthly period, she was greatly frightened by the spectacle of a tremendous storm. Without having sexual relations with any mortal, she afterward gave birth in the same way as other women.

4. Guajiro legends relating to Mareiwa also assert that he was born under an olive tree (77) in some place in La Guajira.

[137]

77. The olive tree we refer to in these paragraphs is not the same as that of temperate zones but is an autochthonous tree, whose similarity to the former justifies its name.

The importance of this legend stems from the peculiar character of the tree, which is the only one belonging to the Guajiro flora that escapes the effects of long summers and is always fresh and green, keeping its leaves and bearing fruit throughout the year.

789 776 821 5. In his propitiation of the rains when summer lasts too long, the shaman invokes his protector spirits, spirits of good, and especially Fumayule, the name by which curers [curanderos] know Mareiwa.

776 821 6. In the work and paragraphs already quoted from the work of Professor Hernández de Alba, we find a new relation between Mareiwa and rain; he says: "Mareigua. Everything that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance... and He saved

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
789 throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of proseletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rains to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

[241 Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
460] presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
235 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, im-
789 posing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

[182 cont.]

177 233 789 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

781 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin [776] of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

182 619 789 2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has transferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determinism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

[152 cont.]

182 brought about by the family and clan organization; it embraces
789 all the community without distinction and influences and de-
[619] termines it in many of its aspects. [153]

For this reason magic is bound up closely with their regimen for personal security and collective stability in three ways: 1) because it establishes a series of preventative norms aimed at defending the individual and the community from possible evils provoked by the concurrence of natural or supernatural, physical or psychic phenomena; 2) because it possesses adequate methods of treating the evils, which the individuals of the community, by transgressing the cultural patterns, bring upon themselves, thus affecting them in their persons or interests; 3) because it instills the belief in the community that any infraction of the established norms can provoke abnormal happenings which work against their stability.

182 We would say, then, that in the first place the shaman
*756 with his methods of magic is an institution created to maintain, defend, and even restore the regimen of stability to the community and its members as will be seen by the short enumeration of the following facts.

a) Medication for illness to restore the health of the patients.

b) Propitiation of the rains, indispensable for agriculture, the growth and conservation of pastures (the essential factor for stock grazing), and the maintenance of fresh water in the wells and water holes, as much for the use of the members of the community as for the sustenance of the stock.

c) Warding off pestilences and epidemics, both in humans and in animals, directed first to the saving of life among the individuals of the community and second to the defense of their interests represented by the stock — the support of their economy and of their existence.

d) Prevention of the effects of dreams, which within Guajiro mental mechanics correspond to actual realities as revelations of the future, anticipatory announcements of things that are going to happen within the community and which will affect one or
[782] more persons in their social group. This is one of the origins, as we have seen, for the animal sacrifices which have so much importance in the daily lives of these Indians.

182 [154 cont.]
791 is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
*956 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both
787 things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

• • •

182 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on
626 the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and
789 is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the breaking of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example:
a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

[155 cont.]
182 626 789 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individuals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 595 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influ- [177] ence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy [654] for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

751 771 881 [156] Another institution that we see directly affected by magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to [761] be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

764 775 771 626 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

[156 cont.]

554 556 781 3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect related to magic is in connection with the status derived from wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their interclan struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurĭra-Pâta, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kusina Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

• • •

781 971 789 A great part of the Guajiro's personality is molded by this institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

[157 cont.]

181 mental outlook it originates – imbued, as we have affirmed,
771 with an animistic determinism – and the beliefs it implies in
789 the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

834 a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke – as fully explained in the corresponding section – compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times.
[832] Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

262 b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[789]

754 789 c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him 182 bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and 787 allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which 789 he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)
192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)
824 artemisia (f. Synantherae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to with the years, and other strings of beads were put round their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines. Only the women took real pains about painting themselves. It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all over with black or red paint. This was not done for the sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sunburn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent. If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has secret significance. The women showed my wife red and brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

252 Going back to the house, we found the women at the
[354] fires, which there were protected by special small cactus screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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have got the impression that I intended to keep it in a safe place in order to exploit it commercially, that is to say, hire it out to applicants. He could never have understood what a museum was.

We declined our host's invitation as politely as we could. Gladtvet's interest in his female slaves—who now had their faces painted black into the bargain—was very lukewarm.

We were served a dish of goat's meat, from a goat that our friend had been given at the funeral. Unfortunately it was old and tough, and my wife had to leave almost her entire helping. That was not regarded impolite in Guajira. On the contrary our hostess looked delighted and hastily removing it and herself to a very short distance, set about engulfing it. One might have thought that she did not get enough to eat, but no Guajiro wife was underfed in a well-to-do household. Often they had more food than they wanted. Why, then, did she not leave the helping for her slaves? Because she wanted what had been left by the lightest-complexioned woman she had ever seen, since one can become fairer oneself by eating what such a being has touched. For that reason, my wife, as a gesture of politeness, often left some of her food when we ate in Indian houses, to the delight of the women of the household. What I left would have been of use only to the medicine man, and that because I was a learned man.

On our return to the mission, the monks gave us a large piece of beef, which we grilled.

'Ay, ay,' said Francisco after the feast, 'the photographer señor should not have eaten grilled meat. I forgot his cóntra.'

'His cóntra?'

'Yes, he has the cóntra now. He ought to have eaten something else. What will happen now?'

The next day Gladtvet had a pain in his stomach and Francisco became frightened. Francisco had been brought up at the mission and considered himself a good Catholic, but that did not prevent him believing in magic. However, our medicine chest relieved Gladtvet's pains more easily than Francisco expected.

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On two occasions I went out with some hunters who had hunting cóntras. Two had talismans for hares; these were small pellets fastened to the leather shield that protects the arm against the bow string. The pellets were shaped like rabbit's excrement and contained a herb the leaves of which resembled rabbit's ears and which the so-called rabbits were fond of! Another man had a deer cóntra prepared from a creeper. It resembled deer's droppings.

The hunters were quite convinced that the cóntra would give them good hunting, and that by its power their game would be unable to escape them. Thus those cóntra were doubly effective. On neither occasion, however, did we get anything, much to the consternation of the hunters. I think they assumed that my presence had prevented the charms working, and they were astounded when I bought them.

Of other talismans there was one intended to help its owner win races. This consisted of some rattling fruits to tie beside the horse's ear. There was a cóntra for warriors called *rania*, which gave its bearer courage and made him invulnerable. Another, which was very expensive, was said to give the possessor luck in business and gradually make him rich. Having become rich, he could then purchase the most expensive charm of all, that which would bring him respect and power. This latter was strictly personal: an outsider could be harmed by seeing it, especially a thief, and it was not effective except in the hands of its rightful owner. It was contained inside several small bags, one within the other, and what was inside the inmost one was known only to the piache who prepared it. In the talisman that brought wealth there were supposed to be links of gold, the power of which lay in the spells spoken over them. Similarly pearls and little figures made of coconut over which the wise women had spoken spells served as amulets. Amongst other things they protect the wearer against the evil eye, belief in which the Indians had evidently adopted from the Spanish–Moorish superstitions of their conquerors. You can find too the small carved hands that are so typically Moorish, and the most powerful means of averting the evil eye. Yet another is more in the negro style. The skulls of

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The skulls of horses are placed round dwelling-places to repulse spirits, which are held to be very afraid of horses, whether alive or dead. When a caravan travels by night, the men with horses are in the lead, and the spirits flee at once. Once long ago the Indians themselves had an almost superstitious dread of horses; that was when for the first time they saw them used by their white conquerors.

It was said that some piaches had in their possession gold statuettes inherited from the 'ancients'. If that was so, they were presumably pre-Columbian objects found in some grave or kept for centuries by some succession of medicine men.

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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary [775] spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833] coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756 842

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that he was waiting for two men with whom he was going on a long journey. One of these was from Macuira and the other from Parashi. At that instant two horsemen appeared. Umaralá took farewell of his slave and told him that they would not meet again in this world, only in the next, and he enjoined the slave to tell no one of what he had seen or should see, otherwise he would die. The slave was left alone in the hut, sorrowful and wondering. He saw the riders disappear in the direction of the burial place that Umaralá so often visited. The slave then followed. He heard the death-lament, but saw no one. That was Umaralá bewailing his aunt with his friends. The slave returned home and soon became very ill. He told what he had heard and seen and died immediately afterwards.

The slave had noticed that the man from Parashi who had accompanied Umaralá, was dressed in deerskin. This man lived in a little hut and had the power to transform himself into a deer. Several Indians had seen and recognized him. He used to make and sell hammocks and other articles made of bast.

The man from Macuira who had been with Umaralá devoted himself to curing diseases. He used herbs and roots for some and cured others by burning the patient with a red-hot iron point. He was also a sooth-sayer and could make rain. His name was Jururiana.

Once there was a dreadful drought that made many people leave Macuira and go to the savannas. Famine came to the hills. Now people knew that Jururiana could make rain and when he came to a place called Chamaro they flocked round him. In the end, in order to compel him to make rain, they tied him to a post in the sun and told him that they would not loose him until he had brought rain. This he did. After two hours, there was a big shower. The chief Juanito Epiayú was a very good friend of Jururiana and often summoned him when there was a drought, arranging dancing with much drinking and races. Jururiana then made rain.

This rain-maker vanished, none could say how. Another pretended to be Jururiana rejuvenated, but the chief sent for

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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamds*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pororo where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when
776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord
789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may
438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells